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584 Chiefs' sons were not restricted in the selection of mates to the daughters of other chiefs. Such an idea would have been utterly foreign to Sanpoil principles. There was some tendency for the sons of chiefs, shamans and others of achievement to marry daughters of men of like standing, but this was not the result of formal rule or tradition. Parents were always anxious to arrange the most desirable marriage possible for a son or daughter. This meant that moral character, ambition, ability and physical appearance were all taken into consideration. However, since reciprocal presents formed an integral part of the marriage complex, families of like economic status were more often united than those of markedly different resources. On the other hand it was not uncommon for the son of an idler, by virtue of his own achievements, to marry into a highly respected family.

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Blood relatives, even as far as cousins three generations removed, were not permitted to marry. If this rule were broken and the fact were discovered, the parties were separated and punished by lashing. Such action was taken by the chief. Relatives of the offending persons sometimes killed the horses or stole the goods of the couple as indication of their disapproval.

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Marriages were always arranged by parents but the persons involved were usually consulted. The boy in many cases was the instigator of the negotiations. Upon developing a desire for a certain girl he confided in his parents and requested that they see the girl's parents in his behalf. More often, perhaps, the parents selected a girl and then sought their son's approval of the choice. Occasionally the boy's wishes were not considered at all or were overruled. Boys and girls totally unknown to each other were sometimes united. It was not conventionally possible for a girl or a girl's parents to take the initiative in marriage proposals. The girl only was permitted to express her approval or disapproval after negotiations had been formally opened by the visit of an emissary from the boy to her parents. If they approved of the proposal they usually communicated the request and expressed their feelings to their daughter. The latter was then given an opportunity to declare her wishes.

The first emissary was usually the boy's mother, who visited the mother of the girl. If they agreed upon the match there followed a conference between the two fathers, the boy's father calling upon the girl's. At this time the former promised certain presents to the latter, to be delivered some time after the marriage. These were not offered as inducements to the girl's father to gain his consent to the match. There was no bartering. It was understood that a reciprocal presentation of gifts would follow the initial transfer. The promise of the presents was simply an expression of good will and a part of the formalized procedure which made up the marriage complex. Sometimes neither of the boy's parents took part in the preliminary negotiations. Instead they selected a relative or friend to approach the girl's mother and father. The reason for doing this seems to have been the fear of refusal, which was keenly felt and particularly humiliating. Parents alone made the final decisions in marriage proposals. Other relatives were not formally consulted nor were their opinions seriously considered.

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Rape was punished by severe lashing. The woman was never forced to marry the man for he was considered "no good—not good enough for anybody." (Burke) Women were most often assaulted when found alone while picking berries or gathering fuel. A woman was rendered helpless by a blow across each arm with a heavy club. 684

When an illegitimate child was born the mother was called before the chief and an attempt was made to learn from her the identity of the father of the child. If the girl would not tell she was whipped, but even under such treatment a girl sometimes refused to name the man. If the father were discovered he was punished (lashed) and required to marry the girl if her parents would consent. The wishes of the boy's parents were not considered. If the marriage were not effected the mother allowed someone to adopt the child or kept it and cared for it with the help of her family. A woman who had borne an illegitimate child was treated respectfully and in no sense ostracized, but she was often "talked about behind her back." The many children that were born out of wedlock were not treated differently from others, either as children or adults. One of them might be taunted by other children if he were ignorant of who his father was, but such was seldom the case. He was told by his mother or others. 684 848

Prostitution was common, as might be expected in a polygamous community. It was common knowledge that certain women could be had by anyone at any time. It was an insult to be called a wi'lawit, the term applied to a prostitute. Even those whom the name fitted resented it. These women received no payment for their services. They were probably hypersexuals and those who were not sufficiently attractive to obtain a husband. In striking contrast to traditional Sanpoil standards "these women did not care how a man looked." (Burke) Prostitutes, however, sometimes eventually married. Burke told of s——,[1] "the loosest woman ever known in this valley," who finally married. At forty or forty-five years of age she married s——, a Sanpoil. The latter had been married before. The common objection to marrying a prostitute was not a moral one, but the fear that she would not remain faithful. Although prostitutes were not ordinarily molested, their profession was not openly recognized. If concrete evidence were obtained against one and brought to the attention of the chief she was lashed. The men involved might be punished as well.

The attitudes toward incest were particularly well formulated in a myth relating an instance of brother and sister incest and accounting for the origin of death. Extracts from the myth follow: 835 684

There was a chief. He had a son and a daughter. The daughter was living by herself in the puberty hut. She was there for a while. She kept thinking, "I don't see anyone that I want to marry; I don't know anyone good looking enough." Her brother was thinking the same thing: "I'm good looking and so is my sister; I'd like to marry her." His sister was thinking the same thing.

One night when the boy went to bathe, he went to his sister's hut and stayed with her until nearly morning. He came home and fell asleep. He hadn't slept much, so his mother had to wake him. The next night he did the same thing,

[1] Personal names have been omitted from this section and initials used instead. Small letters are initials of native names, capitals are initials of English names.

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leaving the lodge after the others had gone to sleep. The next morning his mother had to wake him again. He wouldn't answer. He kept his face covered up. His mother went over and uncovered his face. She saw on his face some of the paint that she put on the girl each day. She thought, "He must be staying with his sister. She is the only girl outside of the camp." She told the chief, her husband, what she thought. He laughed at her, saying, "The boy wouldn't do that. He knows better." But his wife was sure so the chief told her to watch their son.

That night the parents went to bed; they started to snore. The boy got up and left. A little while later the boy's mother got up. She went to the girl's hut and listened outside. She heard the two inside, laughing. The girl said, "Yes, I love you; I didn't see anyone else who was good looking enough for me. I'd just as soon marry you." Her brother answered, "I felt the same way about it." The woman went back and called her husband. He went back with her and listened. He found out that she was right. When they got back to camp the chief asked his wife what they should do. "That's up to you," she answered. "You are the chief. I like my children, but it's up to you to decide." After a while he said, "All right, I know what I'll do. I'm going to kill my son. The people would laugh if they heard about it." "All right," his wife answered, "it's up to you.... "

At daylight they held the burial.... Later the young girl was sent to her older sister with some food... Her sister grabbed her and made her tell her what had happened by telling her that she would kill her if she didn't. Then she told her to tell their mother to send her good buckskin dress, her best robe, and her belt, because she wanted to bathe and return to camp. The young girl told her mother who took the clothes up herself. They were returning from bathing. After they had passed the girl's hut she said that she wanted to go back and leave her old dress. Her mother let her go and went back to camp.

Instead of going to the hut the girl ran toward her brother's grave. When her mother got back the chief asked where their daughter was. "She went back to leave her old dress," his wife said. "No, she didn't," the chief answered. He was feeling uneasy already. He went outside and saw his daughter running, already half way to the grave. He called, "Everyone chase her. Whoever catches her can have her. I want to save my daughter." All the fastest runners, Fox, Coyote, Wolf, ran after her. She got to the cliff and sat down at the top. Just then Fox grabbed her robe. But she untied it where it was fastened at the neck and jumped over. She fell right on top of her brother. Then they both laughed. "We said we'd get together," they said; "now we have, for good. In times to come other brothers and sisters will sometimes do the same thing...."

Another myth, wherein Coyote marries his daughter, ends as follows:

The girl was very much ashamed. She jumped into the river... Coyote turned to the people and said, "This is not the only time this will happen. Every once in a while, in times to come, men will try to live with their own daughters."

In actuality the punishment of incest was seldom death. Rather, lashing was resorted to, and each of the parties to the incestuous relationship received many blows. Subsequently the persons were not ill-treated, but were often subjected to ridicule. In cases of brother-sister incest, interestingly, the parents were as much in disgrace as the children. One who had been guilty of incest found it difficult to marry for a time, "but people soon forgot." (Burke) It was believed that children born of incestuous unions would be deformed. The children themselves were treated normally.

881 They ½ became acquainted with
883 the more specialized techniques, such as bas-
836 ketry, and were supposed to have no contacts with men except for fleeting ones at group affairs. Actually, however, many of the maidens succeeded in eluding the vigilance of their elders, and a virgin bride was considered unusual and rather highly valued.

½ [i.e., post-adolescent girls.-- Analyst]

MARRIAGE

Prohibited Degrees

582 No marriage to a blood relative was al-
835 lowed. Theoretically this prohibition extended even to sixth cousins. A breach of tabu towards so distant a relative would be considered rather wrong by the older people, but would not have been very severely censured. Actually, many second cousins did marry. According to Johnnie, it was preferable to marry "a daughter of a man who had married one's grandmother's sister," or a relative similarly removed, than to marry an utter stranger. The marriage of close relatives was a disgrace, but our informants agreed that even in this case, after the lapse of some time, the offense was forgiven or at least forgotten, and the couple received once more into the community's good graces. It was believed that the children of tabu degree relatives would be deformed, stupid, or physically weak.

The idea of tabu included not only sexual relations, but also any sort of intimate trifling contact, such as tickling. This held not only between cousins, but also brothers and sisters.

684 Incest was exceedingly rare, according
835 to Cecile, who stated that it never occured between parent and child. On rare occasions a brother and sister, usually quite young, might have incestuous relations. In this event the parents would be so horrified that both children would be killed. This happens
[538] often in the myths, and always the parents are so ashamed that they put an end to the offenders, or at least to the boy. The girl, particularly if there was a child, was sometimes allowed to live. Such a pattern in the mythology generally means that the tabu was felt rather strongly.

582 The technical ban on marriage referred
835 to cousins of any degree. They were apparently grouped with the siblings, whose relationship terms they shared. "The older people considered the cousins as their children, and children should not marry." More distant collateral relatives, or those merely connected by marriage, were known as snaqsɪ'lūx. These were held to be most desirable as mates, and were preferred to total strangers, we were told. We found no check of this in the marriages.

Betrothal

582 It was preferred to marry within the
554 tribe, but marriages outside of it took
778 place. Rich and poor married quite freely, for there was always the notion that a man was poor only because he lacked power.